1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Weapons.—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

Pottery.—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

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59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
[114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
[62] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
[60] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 562 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the [582] [191] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 587 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [620] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not

589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[264] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

587 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[462] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[861] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is
586 practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
587 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is allowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous